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PORTRAIT OF A COLD WAR HERO

Boris Morros tells how he fooled the Kremlin for 12 years

By Elmer Bendiner

A READY ALIBI for international blundering seemed at hand last week as the U.S. Justice Dept. revealed two presumably typical undercover intelligence agents of the cold war: alleged Soviet master spy Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel and alleged U.S. master counter-spy Boris Morros.

Morros last week broke out of a 12-year masquerade and revealed himself as a U.S. agent spying on the Russians while pretending to spy on the U.S. He told much of his story at a news conference where U.S. Atty. William Gilchrist had constantly to restrain him from talking too much. Other bits were leaked to columnists. From these and other sources it was possible to sketch the spy who fooled the Kremlin.

PRECOCIOUS: At the age of four Morros says he mastered the piano and at six, the cello. At 16 he conducted the 108-piece Imperial Symphony Orchestra for the Czar. Once he played for Rasputin who gave him a string of amber beads. When the revolution came, he says, he, Akim Tamiroff, Mischa Auer and 17 others left their country. In 1922, according to the Morros legend, he came to the U.S. as musical director of Nikita Balieff's revue, **Chauve Souris**, for which he wrote the **Parade of the Wooden Soldiers.**

Whatever else may be true in the legend there seems considerable doubt about his connection with the **Chauve Souris.** Balieff's widow last March told **Newsweek:** "Boris Morros never had any connection with the **Chauve Souris.** He never had any connection with my husband. And he did not write **Parade of the Wooden Soldiers." Newsweek** added that Morros' name does not appear on the score sheets or the programs of **Chauve Souris.**

In 1935 Morros went to the U.S.S.R. to see his father and promised that he would bring him to the U.S. (His father arrived in 1943, the only passenger on a ship from Vladivostok.) After that the Russians made overtures to him, he says, and in 1945 offered an outright bid for spying. He reported the fact to the FBI and on their advice began the life of a counter-spy. He knew he had made the grade when in 1950 Gen. Petr Vasilievich Fedotov of the Soviet Secret Police wined and dined him for ten hours straight in Moscow.

14-CARAT: Others confirmed Morros' taste for wining and dining. **Newsweek** drew a picture of Morros in Vienna that same year, in which he looked like a roly-poly party boy. He drove a flashy Oldsmobile convertible, was frequently seen with a Rumanian actress, was noted for an addiction to champagne, talked frequently of big deals, including a uranium mine, "but nothing ever seemed to come of them." The magazine reported: "Some thought him a 14-carat phony."

Why the Russians trusted him, despite this un-spy-like behavior, was explained by N.Y. **Post** columnist Leonard Lyons who said that once Morros had

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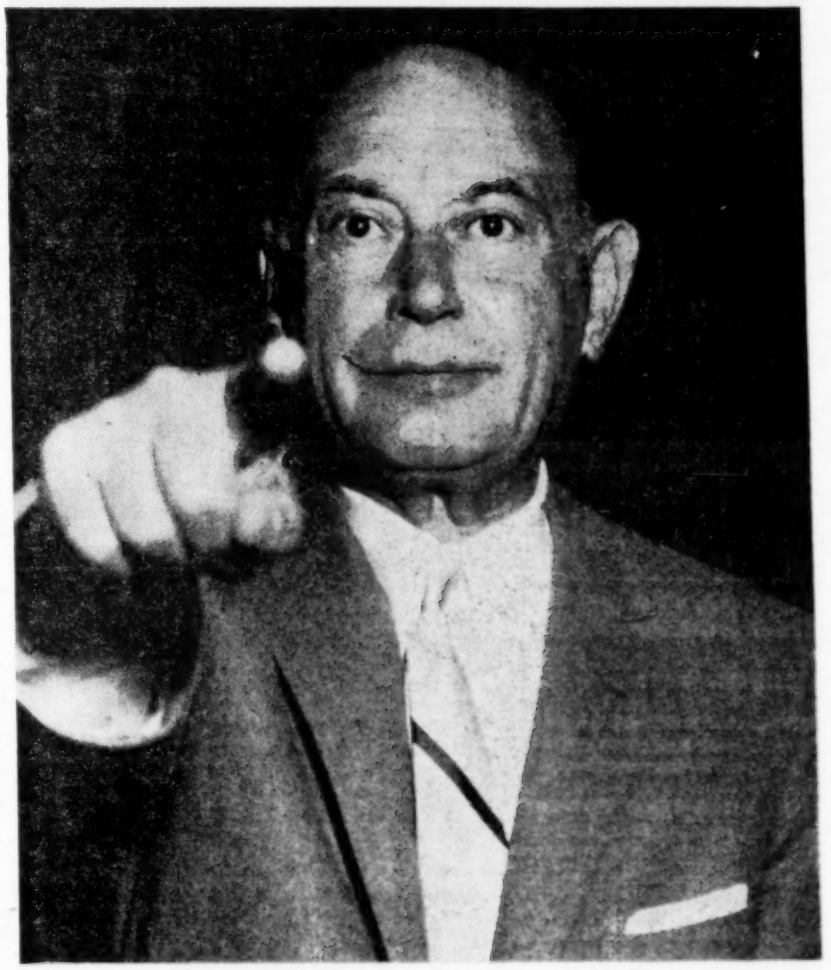

THE BUSY FINGER OF BORIS MORROS
A prize pointer wagging an incredible tale

SEN. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
Reverse the Court

JENCKS RULING DEFIED

Congressional pressure mounts for FBI bill

By Lawrence Emery

HEAT WAS STEADILY building up in Congress last week for adoption before adjournment of legislation to modify or nullify the June 3 Supreme Court ruling in the Jencks case. Leaders in both the Senate and House were pressing for such legislation, and both Vice President Nixon and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover issued hot warnings that the nation would be in jeopardy if such legislation failed to pass this session.

The bill that would change the Court ruling was introduced by a Democrat generally regarded as a liberal, Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming. He first proposed the measure on June 24 but has modified it since in an effort to meet strong criticism of its sweeping effects by Sens. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D-Pa.) and John W. Bricker (R-Ohio). A third version, drafted with the help of the Justice Dept., is now under consideration in the Senate.

(Continued on Page 6)

BOTH PARTIES MANEUVER FOR GAIN

Fight folds for stronger civil rights

BY THE WEEK-END of Aug. 18 the great Congressional debate of 1957 on civil rights had degenerated into a partisan contest for political advantage. But those who stood to win or lose the most by the outcome—the Negro people themselves—were inclined to accept reluctantly or angrily the pittance offered by the stripped-down Senate version of the Administration bill. If nothing else, it represented the first time since 1875 that the upper chamber of the U.S. legislature had ever conceded that the Negro possesses a constitutional right to vote.

The measure finally adopted by the Senate on Aug. 7 after a full-dress 23-day debate was a far cry from the admittedly mild bill drafted by the Dept. of Justice and adopted intact by the House of Representatives. In all previous years civil rights legislation has been defeated in the Senate by a Southern filibuster without ever reaching the floor for debate.

NEW DIXIE TACTICS: This year the Democrats, because of a sizeable shift of the Negro vote to the GOP in the last elections, and because their own Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, has presidential aspirations, could not afford the luxury of a destructive filibuster. Civil rights for the first time since the Reconstruction era became the subject of Senate concern. Dixiecrat obstruction was shifted onto a high plane; racist ranters like Eastland and Talmadge were kept in the background and old "aristocrats" like Richard Russell of Georgia and Sam Ervin of North Carolina carried the banner for the Southland.

Russell charged that there were hidden provisions in the bill that would have brought "bayonet rule" to the South and President Eisenhower seemed to bear him out by confessing at a press conference that he himself did not know what was in the bill. The President's defection almost automatically gutted the bill of its Part III which would have permitted Federal enforcement of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution and other statutes, including the right of the Negro to attend a non-segregated school and ride on a non-segregated bus.

JURY GIMMICK: The Russell victory was a real coup; Sen. Ervin's attack on Federal court enforcement of the right to vote was more astute and longer drawn-out. Under the bill as drafted Federal courts could enjoin any person from interfering with a Negro's right to vote and the injunction could have been enforced by fine or imprisonment by the court itself. Sen. Ervin argued persuasively that such punishment could be inflicted only after a jury trial—a radical departure from long-established legal procedure and tradition.

It was on this point that Northern and Western Democrats capitulated. They not only accepted the Dixiecrat demand for jury trials in voting cases—knowing that Southern white juries won't convict Southern whites for denying the Negro the right to vote—but offered a successful amendment that would extend the right of jury trial in all criminal contempt cases arising from any Federal law.

There are nearly 50 Federal statutes, mostly regulatory by nature, that are enforced by court order. One is the Pure Food & Drug Act under which a court can order an offender to stop prohibited practices under pain of fine or imprisonment; another is the Minimum Wage

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Three views on ALS

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Can you give us more of the brilliant thinking I find in Anna Louise Strong's article in the Aug. 5th GUARDIAN? No one in America today is rising to the level of her remarkable overview of our world crisis and pointing the way to sanity and life with such balance and clarity.

Holland Roberts

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Anna Louise Strong, like many of her fellows, is disturbed by the terrible danger of atomic warfare. Where she differs from many of them is in the novel proposals to which her alarm has led her.

Miss Strong has concluded that what stands in the way of eliminating this menace to mankind is the persistence on earth of nations and nationalism. That is one of her "lines of thought," the other being a corollary to it, the idea of One World.

To reach her new concepts Miss Strong found it desirable to discuss (for half her article) the place of socialism in relation to her battle against the atom bomb. She reasons with her usual soundness that socialism in a historical sense is the contemporary system of mankind in its social progress. Her view is that socialism is not only here and here to stay but that every thinking person must be aware that it no longer belongs on man's current agenda.

But a more difficult question plagues me after I allow myself to be carried away by Miss Strong's magnificent imagination. I shall assume that socialism is here and that I need no longer spend time and effort to achieve it and that I am ready for "Man's New Crusade."

I proceed with the task of organizing a movement in my country which like-minded New Crusaders will do in theirs, having the objective of persuading the people and the governments to accept my plan for ONE WORLD-NO NATIONS.

We make phenomenal progress with our Idea in—of all places—Russia and China, when to our disappointment we are let down by our own country and other non-socialist nations. At that point in my pleasant dream it dawns on me what was wrong all along with the New Crusade.

Atomic energy, including the atom bomb, fission and fusion, is the gradual discovery of scientists who may know no national borders but who nevertheless respond to the needs of their society. The use to which atomic energy is put depends on the nature of the society that controls it. If it be a social system that by its nature is concerned only with the welfare of its members atomic power will be beneficent. But if it is a social system concerned also with power and aggrandizement, which in fact cannot exist except it be so concerned, then atomic energy will also always mean atom bombs.

I look upon the capitalist system of society as one in which the competitive drive for economic, political and cultural aggression is inherent and whose control of atomic energy is therefore a persistent menace to us all.

On the other hand, I consider the socialist system of society, wherever it prevails embryonically or maturely, as one which inherently lacks the need for aggression and where atomic energy is destined only for social and peaceful uses.

Ergo, I must strive, and today harder than ever, that the socialist system be installed here and everywhere, fast and firm, and thus insure what Miss Strong melodramatically refers to as "human life against planetary death."

It's not "nations" or the "devil-worship of the nation" which must be abolished any more than we must abolish scientists. What is necessary is to deprive those who have the power to misuse atomic energy of that power. That can be done only by establishing everywhere in the world the power of the people over their society—that's socialism.

A. Unger

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is to be hoped that no one will take seriously such statements by the doubtlesly well-intentioned Miss Strong as that socialism is no longer man's "chief" crusade, that the fight is "already won" except for "details," etc.

The principle of socialism is something very different from a mere agglomeration of "the 8-hour day. . . . India's steel mills . . . Scandinavia's cooperatives, and . . . Nasser's seizure of Suez." which "modify" capitalism.

And the crusade for socialism has by no means been superseded by the crusade for survival as the "chief" crusade of humanity! The latter is simply the immediately most urgent. Moreover, its efficiency can only become maximal with the greatest possible understanding of the science of the crusade for socialism.

W.R.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

FREIBURG, Germany, Aug. 12 (UP)—Freiburg University has begun courses in atomic radiation protection which soon will appear in high schools throughout the country.

Forty doctors are taking the university course. A university spokesman said the lessons are "tranquilizers" against the fear of atomic radiation.

—San Diego **Union**, 8/13

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with every entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, San Diego, Calif.

Billy Graham's fallacy

ORANGEBURG, S. C.

Billy Graham recently announced in his New York crusade for more church members, that "delinquency is parental," as if that were a new type of social "crutch" upon which to lean. He offered parents this program for properly rearing children: "Give them moral guidance; teach them to know God through Bible reading in the home; have family prayers and regular church attendance."

According to Dr. Austin Porterfield, professor of Sociology, Texas Christian University, "There is no relation between the number of churches and church members per 100,000 population from city to city, and indices of fredom from crime—not even any relationship except a negative one—between indices of organized religion and general social well-being." From a report of the Chicago Area Committee, on Religious Instruction on Time Released from Public Schools, the conclusions reached were substantially the same; namely, "There is no correlation between church attendance or knowledge of the Bible and conduct."

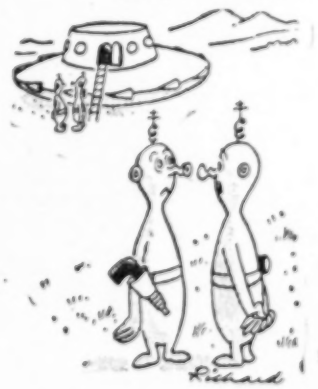
H. F. Haas

Big wind coming?

JACUMBA, CALIF.

Does this Nixonian collaboration with "Holy Billy" Graham portend the politico-religious hurricane which might sweep those two into the White House?

Margaret Johanassen



Reynolds News, London

"I understand one of their deadliest weapons is called a motor car!"

Solar energy vs. suicide

CANTON, OHIO

Solar energy goes to waste every day at fantastic rates. Harnessed at desert regions, and electricity piped into the nation's grids, plus the wind, tide, hydro-generators, is the answer, with of course a planned population increase. Of course, if the human race wants nuclear suicide, all they need do is follow present trends.

Elmer Fish

Tour de force

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When freedom to travel
Secures us a visa,
Let's roam 'round the world
From Peiping to Pisa;
Go flying where
New adventures abound,
Provided, of course, this
Old earth is still 'round.

V.M.S.

Atom & Evil

ERWIN, TENN.

Dr. Schweitzer is the soul of sincerity and love of mankind. His antagonists are the soul of insincerity and love of the dollar. The issue is clear. AEC's Strauss is a Wall St. banker (for 18 years a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co.), and his new Man Friday, Dr. Libby, is a publicist posing as a scientist.

I predict that, in the long run, the welfare of the world will come out on top of corporate greed.

Ernest Seeman

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REPORT TO READERS

Youth Unlimited

IT WAS THE GUARDIAN, you may remember, which broke the ice nationally last February (**Fun in Moscow**, 2/25) with the first advance stories about the Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow July 28-Aug. 11.

So we have experienced some slight anguish these last few weeks, with the nation's press buzzing merrily and the State Dept.'s hair on end over the doings of the U. S.'s 160 participants and no word from our own correspondents on the scene.

Finally on Aug. 13 we got an airmailed dispatch from Cedric Belfrage, posted in Moscow Aug. 1. An accompanying note said he had also dispatched a parcel of pictures by air, but this is still somewhere enroute. We don't know which end holds up the mail, and at this point we don't care much; the buoyant young Americans themselves have burst through all existing barriers in such high style that we are now in no mood to quibble.

The decision of close to 50 of them to go on to China—against State Dept. threats of the direst sort ("asinine," **Labor's Daily** called them)—may well result in busting the Department's stubborn passport restriction on such travel, not only for the press but for the lot of us who might want to feel free to go if the old pocketbook would stand the strain.

SO ALL HAIL to our globe-girdling youth, and may brass bands rather than subpenas greet them when they get back to their home towns. All hail, too, by the way, to the plucky parents of so many of them, who expressed such calm confidence in the wisdom of youthful decisions when the newspapers called for comment.

Here, in part, is what Belfrage's Aug. 1 dispatch reported:

"Moscow today is the widest-open town in history. This is where 'dancing in the streets' comes true on a previously unimaginable scale. Nobody ever seems to go to bed. Champagne flows down 'common' gullets. Cafe waiters border on prostration. At all times a foreign delegate—especially an American or any 'colored' visitor—may be surrounded as soon as his badge is spotted, mobbed by autograph hunters, and either driven against a wall for a discussion or escorted down the street in the powerful grip of linked arms, with a procession behind 'like the Pied Piper,' as one American girl described it. Here an Arab embraces a Russian girl with one arm while clutching his phrase-book with the other; there a dense circle forms around solemn blond Germans rendering a student **Lied**. An astonishing number of Russians can now stagger along in some foreign language, with English predominating. Everywhere, as night falls in the spacious streets and squares, amateur parliaments by the thousand gather around a core of exotic national costumes to hash over the problems of the cold war and how to stop it and get on with the job and joy of living.

"The older folk join in, but the word is with youth. In his speech at the opening ceremonies, before the flags of every land were ballooned into the sky amid a cloud of doves, Voroshilov spoke of 'youth's key role.' The timeworn bromides heard wherever the old speak to the young seemed something more in this fantastic, unprecedented setting. Somebody—for whatever 'propaganda' reasons — was trying to do more than talk about it.

"As one wry Muscovite put it, the foreign invasion of this town is "the greatest since 1812.' Starved for contact with the outside world, the citizenry is loving every moment of it—and learning plenty that it didn't know. Propaganda, comrade Dulles, does work two ways. Two thousand Muscovites are now wearing a mysterious badge distributed by a playful young Englishman.

"It bears the words: **I Like Ike.**"

MAYBE THIS QUESTION has occurred to you, too, but in case it hasn't, we'll ask it:

What American city would have turned itself inside out for an "invasion" like this, listened in patience to the arguments, the defense of social systems, the criticisms of policy and endured the inevitable arrogance of a refrig-freezer, two-car way of life, without loosing the vigilantes on them?

Let's be clear, among ourselves, on who's got Curtains and who hasn't.

—THE GUARDIAN

We win

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Three friends on vacation played cards and agreed that the winnings go for favored institutions. The result: we did not forget the Guardian.

Enclosed is $10. **Aces up**

A must

WILLOW RIVER, MINN.

This $5 is from our Progressive Farmer Labor Club. We are a small group but we like to help out all good things and we consider the National Guardian as a must. **Lena Borchardt**

BEHIND THE FLARE-UP IN LODZ

Poland must develop industries

On Aug. 12 some 3,000 transport workers in Lodz, Poland, went on strike and Western correspondents luridly recalled Poznan of last October when strikes and demonstrations ended with a new government and a "new road to socialism." But this time no troops were called out, though steel-helmeted police patrolled the streets and twice clashed with strikers. Tear gas was fired, but no guns.

The N.Y. TIMES' John MacCormac wrote that one such fight occurred "after a majority of strikers had decided to return to work and the minority tried to prevent their taking streetcars out of the barns." The strikers demanded a 30% increase in their base pay. The government admitted their demands were justified but said that for the present it was impossible to allot the streetcar workers 50,000,000 zlotys out of the 15% increase in the vodka tax.

The strike did not spread, even among other workers in Lodz. This was no repetition of Poznan, but it did point up the perils in the Polish economy. The GUARDIAN's Ursula Wassermann, now away from her post in Warsaw, early last month wrote the following article which sets the background for the Lodz strike.

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

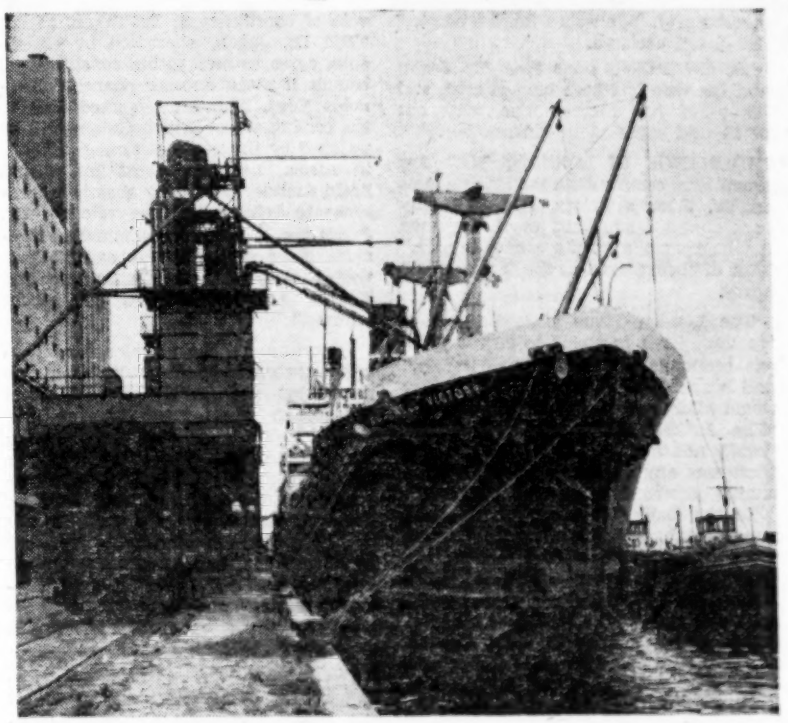
RETURNING TO POLAND after a ten-months' absence, my first impression was based on the fact that essential commodities had not gone up in price, in sharp contrast to all countries I had since visited, especially France, Argentina and Brazil where inflation was rampant. This does not imply, however, that there has been any vast improvement in Poland's economy—far from it, and I have met nobody here, including high government and party officials, who holds such a view.

The standard of living in Poland remains pitifully low for the vast majority of people, as compared to that of the highly developed West European countries, including Western Germany or their Czech neighbors.

If food prices have remained stable, and there has been no change in the low cost of social services such as education and public health, if transportation and rents have not risen—although utilities have—there may be justification in Dr. Oscar Lange's view that real income has, in effect, risen by about 20%. Oscar Lange, vice-chairman of the Council of State and chief economic adviser to the Gomulka Government, has been charged with the basic planning policies of the post-October regime.

HIDDEN INFLATION: Dr. Lange, an outstanding economist, who once taught at the University of Chicago and served as Poland's first post-war Ambassador to the United States, has also served as a consultant on India's Five Year Plan. With this background, although a staunch Marxist, he sees Poland's economic problems, internal and external, in their widest perspective.

Dr. Lange bases his calculation of a rise in real income on pay-raises in many industries—though not all. Lowest income groups have almost universally seen an over-all 20% increase in income. In some industries like mining, raises have been effected up to 40% of pre-October pay. If it is granted that basic commodities have not gone up in price, then the rise in nominal wages becomes a rise in real income.



U.S. FARM SURPLUSES HELP RELIEVE BURDEN ON THE POLISH PEASANT
An American ship unloads 9,169 tons of grain at Gdynia, Poland

However, there is a kind of hidden or secondary inflation caused by the rising cost of clothing, shoes and consumer articles such as furniture, in more ample supply than a year ago but at much higher cost.

PRIVATE SHOPS: One reason for higher prices in this sphere is the reappearance of private shops which since October have sprung up like mushrooms. Prices in state shops have remained fairly stable, but goods are often scarce due to low productivity or faulty distribution, or, increasingly, because many private shops buy up state shop supplies and re-sell them at a higher price. Endless queues in state shops make the public willing to pay more for the same goods in a private shop. In the private shops, despite official ceilings, only the sky is the limit, for a private shop-owner will charge whatever the market will bear, and the public, for years starved of consumer goods, will often pay any price. Ceilings, according to Dr. Lange, are almost impossible to enforce without assigning a policeman to every shop.

The government is not altogether adverse to high prices for certain categories of goods—especially luxury goods—since it is anxious to drain off the surplus purchasing power of that section of the population with money to spare. This section—which includes some actors, writers, artists, scientists, high officials and senior technicians—is induced to spend its surplus on either luxury goods or durable consumer goods or to put it into a variety of saving schemes. One popular lottery-like scheme calls for the deposit of 6,000 zlotys in a postal savings account within a period of six months; since the average wage is still below 1,500 zlotys a month, it is evident that only those with real surplus purchasing power can participate.

GRAIN AND POLITICS: Most foreign credit—and Poland still has far too little—is used to import badly needed capital goods for the development of Poland's weakened economy. One exception is the import of grain, which has a political as well as an economic significance. The original Soviet grain credit last winter covered the country's normal grain import, while the current U.S. grain credit will be almost entirely used in order to build up a stock-pile to facilitate the abolition of compulsory grain deliveries which have for so long been the main source of discontent.

"We must not be blind to the fact," said Dr. Lange in a lecture last February, "that a large part of the peasants would like to have socialism in the cities and a private, small commodity economy in the country-side. This is how they imagine their alliance with the working class and when we come right down to it that is how this alliance really appears at this moment. The task of our policy is to transform the worker-peasant alliance into an active one . . . this will most likely be the most difficult part of the Polish road to socialism."

POLAND'S ROAD: Apart from this major exception, Polish purchases abroad concentrate on the re-equipment and reform of Polish industry and large-scale agriculture. Dr. Lange in the same lecture stated:

"There is a growing conviction that we (not only in Poland but also in the other People's Democracies) have mechanically copied the Soviet model. . . . Each of the People's Democracies created for itself a sort of minature Soviet model of economic structure. The most glaring example of this is Hungary which developed a steel industry even though it has no coal, no iron ore or any other condition for the development of this industry. . . . This same [Soviet] structure cannot be transposed to countries with less abundant natural wealth . . .

"In such conditions the problem arises of greater specialization . . . based on the possibilities of our raw materials. This means [in Poland] first of all, a strong development of the chemical industry for which we have unusual conditions as far as raw materials go: coal, sulphur, zinc, etc. . . . Consequently, it would seem that our economic development should in future be concerned less with the development of the machine-building industry and primarily with the development of the chemical industry. It was after all on the basis of these same raw materials, and especially coal, that the German chemical industry, dominant to this day, arose in the Ruhr."

THE FUTURE? Gomulka has promised nothing but work and sweat, but new prospects are opening up for Poland: Instead of exporting precious raw materials, such as coal, Poland will develop her own industries, not a slavish copy of foreign models, but such industries as will make her own economy more secure and increase her foreign trade.

Within her present industrial structure, one factor has acted as a great stimulant: the Workers' Councils which sprang up all over the country during the dramatic last months of 1956. Poland's Workers' Councils came into being as a rank-and-file movement which has had a lion's share in opposing bureaucracy and seeking changes in factory administration.

Wherever a free hand has been given to this experiment, productivity has risen, with surplus profits distributed on a profit-sharing basis. Admittedly, this so far affects only a small section of the industrial working class. The activities of the Workers' Councils in day-to-day routine have led to the solution of many hitherto insoluble conflicts. For contradictions between the administrators and the workers—the leadership and the masses—exist not only in Mao Tse-tung's China. Whatever Poland's economic prospects—and for the immediate future they are still sombre—there is a new sense of purpose in many areas of production.

Whatdidhesay?

EISENHOWER—Well, it's hard for a mere man to believe that woman doesn't have equal rights. But actually, this is the first time that this has come to my specific attention now since, oh, I think a year or so. . . .

I do know that in certain states that there are, and probably in all, that there are some things where women do not yet have what they believe to be at least their full rights and I am in favor of it. I just probably haven't been active enough in doing something about it.

—Presidential press conference, 8/1

"JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE"

New ruling in Powell sedition case

FEDERAL JUDGE Louis E. Goodman in San Francisco early this month granted "judicial assistance," a rarely employed legal device, to help John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman gather evidence in China for their defense. The Powells and Schuman, associated with the **China Monthly Review** in Shanghai, are preparing to stand trial next Dec. 2 on charges of conspiring to commit sedition by publishing in the Review articles on the Korean war which, the prosecution considers, was damaging to U.S. conduct of the war.

The defense has sought to prove by witnesses in China and elsewhere that the articles were based on fact or on sufficently reliable information to warrant reporting. The case might prove a trial of U.S. policies in Korea, including the alleged use of germ warfare. The defendants originally planned to send their attorneys to China to gather depositions from scores of witnesses ready to testify. The State Dept. has refused to grant the attorneys passports, however, and the Chinese government has refused to admit them without passports. The "judicial assistance" granted by Judge Goodman is in effect a request from the U.S. court to Chinese courts to call in the witnesses listed by the defense, take their sworn testimony and send it back to San Francisco in time for the trial.

Defense attorneys are convinced that the procedure is not as effective as the first-hand gathering of depositions, but see no other way to get the material. Prosecutor Robert Schnake at first opposed the request but later agreed to it.

The defense committeee last week reported that in one year of court battling, legal and related expenses have taken $30,000 so far and that another $50,000 may be required for complicated legal, historical and military research before the trial opens. Funds may be sent to Charles Mattox, treas., Powell-Schuman Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1, Calif.

REMEMBER to sign the MORTON SOBELL Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court. (See Guardian, 8/5.)
Send signature and contribution NOW to Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C. Deadline Aug. 28!!

"WE WALK WITH THE PEOPLE"

Jagan victory in Guiana irks Britain

By Kumar Goshal

BRITAIN'S FOUR-YEAR effort to weaken—if not destroy—the most representative political party in British Guiana failed on Aug. 12 as Dr. Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party scored a sweeping victory in the Legislative Council elections.

In April, 1953, the People's Progressive Party, campaigning on a platform of social and economic reform and political freedom, won 18 of the 24 Council seats then in contest. Following British parliamentary methods, the Governor-General of British Guiana called upon Dr. Jagan, as the leader of the majority party, to form the administration.

But Prime Minister Jagan's attempts partially to apply his party's platform alarmed both London and Washington,

De Groene, Amsterdam

which considered British Guiana economically and strategically vital. As in Cyprus and later in Suez, Britain sent airborne troops to Georgetown as the British cruiser Superb steamed into the harbor to "maintain law and order." The Governor-General accused the PPP of trying to set up a "Communist state," suspended constitutional government, dissolved the Council and proclaimed rule by decree in October, 1953.

BRITISH PRESSURE: Since then Britain has tried to crack the political unity of the people by placing restrictions on Dr. Jagan and his American-born wife, Janet, promoting rival "loyal" and innocuous political parties, and pouring in over $16,000,000 in colonial aid. Some of the money was used to modernize railways, bridges and roads, much went to support big private firms. The British Trades Union Congress sent funds to bolster company unions in an effort to weaken the PPP's hold on the local trade unions.

Under these pressures the PPP split in 1955 with Linden Forbes Burnham heading a dissident group also calling itself the People's Progressive Party. By this year two other parties were in the field: the United Democratic Party, and the National Labor Front favored by businessmen despite its name. Both pledged loyalty to the throne.

DRASTIC CHANGES: When governing by decree became incompatible with Britain's pretense of developing democracy in the colonies, the British government drastically modified the Guiana constitution before this year's elections. Elective seats in the Council were reduced from 24 to 14, the Governor-General was empowered to nominate 11 others, and three seats were guaranteed to British officials. Pro-Jagan constituencies were merged to reduce the number of representatives. The Governor-General was given broad veto powers and the right to suspend any member of the Council, or the constitution itself, at his discretion.

Dr. Jagan and his followers failed in an attempt to form an electoral alliance. "We walk alone," Burnham said. "We walk with God," said the United Democratic Party. "We walk with the people," Dr. Jagan declared.

At GUARDIAN press time, Dr. Jagan and his wife had both been elected, and his party had secured nine seats out of 14 and expected to win another.

RUMBLINGS IN LONDON: With few exceptions, comments in the British press on Dr. Jagan's victory were uniformly hostile and reminiscent of the crusade for bearing the "white man's burden." Most of them played up the "communist" bogey.

The London **Times** advised the PPP "to limit itself to trying to pursue present economic policies more efficently," and warned that "to go any further would almost certainly provoke a crisis." "The British Government," it added, "could not abdicate its powers . . . if there was any danger of leaving a communist government entrenched there."

To the **Daily Telegraph,** "for a communist-controlled independent Guiana there could be no place either in the Commonwealth or in the West Indies Federation." The **Daily Express** counseled the governor to "see to it that Dr. Jagan is not allowed to make trouble. . . . If Jagan fails to grasp this, his second term of office should be cut even shorter than his first."

ADVICE HEEDED: Even the liberal **Manchester Guardian,** instead of asking if the British government had learned any lessons from the remarkable popular vote of confidence in Dr. Jagan, asked: "Will Dr. Jagan, chastened by experience, agree to keep within constitutional bounds if given another chance?" **Reynolds News,** however, remarked that in the coming weeks British Guiana will be watched by the newly awakened millions in Africa, Asia, the West Indies and Latin America. Declaring that it is nonsense to believe that the vote for Dr. Jagan was a vote for communsm, **Reynolds News** said: "It was essentially a vote against the poverty, hunger and disease that still exist despite recent reforms."

Reporting on the prevalence of poverty, hunger and disease, N.Y. **Times** correspondent Tad Szulc also wrote from Georgetown that unemployment was acute despite the existence of the Canadian Demarest Bauxite Co. and the U.S.-owned Reynolds Metals Co.; the much-touted recent British aid was "aimed at immediate achievements of political value rather than at long-range economic gains;" agriculture was still "limited almost exclusively to the huge London-owned estates" and "Britain was criticized for failing to open up idle Crown lands for small-scale agriculture."

The Governor-General of British Guiana seemed to be taking the advice of the Tory British press. Although parliamentary procedure entitled Dr. Jagan to select the Cabinet, the governor was reported by the **Times** to have invited the PPP leader "to participate in a new government but denied him the power to form a Cabinet." According to the **Times,** the governor was also "taking into account possible protests from Britain and the U.S., which consider Guiana a sensitive strategic area because of its proximity to the Panama Canal and Caribbean bases."

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN
A return engagement

Civil rights

(Continued from Page 1)

Law; still another covers anti-trust violations. Under the civil rights bill as now passed by the Senate, law enforcement in all these areas would become practically unworkable. General Motors could now demand a jury trial on a recent court order that it separate itself from the Du Pont empire, and any processor ordered to refrain from putting injurious substances into food products or from sponsoring fraudulent advertising could demand a trial by jury. Even in voting cases, a Southern violator of a court order would be induced to compound his violation to the point of criminal, as against civil, contempt in order to achieve a jury trial and acquittal.

PUTRID SHOWING: The civil rights fight this year was lost in the Senate on the jury trial amendment. The amendment itself, although proposed by the South, was offered by the North and it was five Northern liberal Democrats' votes that carried the day: John Kennedy (Mass.), Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), Frank Lausche (Ohio), Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.), and John Pastore (R.I.). These men, if they had stood fast, could have prevented the bill from being emasculated to its present impotence.

The few Democrats in the Senate who tried to preserve the bill's strength sought in vain for help from liberal Democrats outside the government. Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt remained aloof from the fight. After the crucial Senate vote, it became known that former Secy. of State Dean Acheson and Benjamin V. Cohen, a shining star in the New Deal, had drafted the jury trial amendment.

Even **Labor's Daily,** an independent publication sponsored by the Intl. Typographical Union, took exception to the "putrid Democratic showing" in the civil rights fight.

THE HOUSE FOLDS: While the debate progressed in the Senate, House Democratic civil rights leaders declared that they would never accept the Senate changes. But when the Senate version reached the House, the Democrats were all for accepting it with an amendment confining jury trial in contempt cases to voting rights. For a day or two, Republicans were for rejecting the Senate bill out of hand, but their position was rather untenable since President Eisenhower himself had cut the ground from under the staunchest supporters of the bill, and Atty. Gen. Brownell, who presumably had drafted it, was conveniently out of the country during all the Senate debate.

Tapley in Amsterdam News, New York
Toothless and useless

The AFL-CIO, under attack itself by the Congress, seemed too preoccupied to put up much of a fight for civil rights. Its executive committee, meeting in Chicago, declared on Aug. 13 that "we urge the Congress to adopt this year the bill as passed by the Senate. We will not join with those who would delay or defeat the present weakened measure in an effort to obtain political advantage."

STILL A FOOTBALL: As the bill now stands, it would set up a bipartisan commission with subpena power to study civil rights questions for two years. The Senate not only restricted the proposed powers of such a commission, but Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), while the measure was still before a House committee, put into it a clause subjecting news reporters to a $1,000 fine and a year in jail if they publish without commission consent any testimony taken in private by the commission. This on its face seems a clear violation of the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press, but it was passed by both houses of Congress.

By last weekend it seemed that all efforts to get a stronger bill had collapsed. There was one small possibility that Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, might use parliamentary tactics to stall final action indefinitely, but there seemed to be no steam left on either side.

The Baltimore **Afro-American** for Aug. 17 summed it up this way: ". . . with the phony jury trial amendment extracted . . ., as we hope it will be, this bill though limited solely to voting rights, represents a belated advance—in fact the first such step taken by the Congress in 85 long, weary and agonizing years. Certainly it is too important a step to be thwarted by political stalemate."

There was still a possibility that beleaguered Democrats might maneuver to send to Eisenhower a bill he would be obliged to veto. Civil rights, although more advanced than since 1875, last week still seemed more a matter of political expediency than of moral principle.

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MOVING THE RAIN SOUTH IN CALIFORNIA

Vast valley project moves on against private bids

By Reuben W. Borough
Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

WITH A DECISION pending as to who is to generate the needed power, the U.S. Reclamation Bureau's Central Valley Project is ready for another history-making stride in its program of "moving the rain south" in California. A giant system for the long-range transportation of 704,000 acre-feet of water has been approved and its initial links are under construction.

In the high reaches of the Trinity River, cradled in majestic wilderness, work is under way on the $225,000,000 multiple-purpose Trinity Dam. It is the first major move toward the capture and taming of the heavy winter-spring run-off of Northern California's Coast Range rivers, which claim nearly half the water yield of the state. The huge surpluses of the Trinity—an annual 13,000,000 acre-feet—will be halted on their way to the Pacific and 7% diverted from the "counties of origin" for delivery to the semi-arid lands on the west side of California's 500-mile-long and 100-mile-wide Central Valley.

THROUGH MOUNTAINS: The beginning stage of the water's journey is, indeed, spectacular. One million acre-feet will be massed in the reservoir behind the 465-foot-high earth-fill Trinity Dam and released as needed for a 1,600-foot drop and transfer through tunnels piercing two mountain barriers, the final outlet emptying into the upper Sacramento River by way of the Keswick Reservoir.

Safely on "the other side of the hump," the salvaged south-bound canyon torrents will perform three important irrigation tasks, a tribute to the Reclamation Bureau's social planning. Real estate speculators and land barons are excluded—the policy of FDR's Interior Dept. still holds: the water will go to small-farm owners and operators, with use limited to 320 acres per family holding. The end product: citizens at home on the land.

Almost at the start of their free, gravity-pull ride down the Sacramento River these flood waters will be handed their first job. Not far from the Keswick Dam they will be drawn off in part to canals servicing 205,000 acres of family-size farms in Tehama, Glenn and Butte Counties. The irrigated land will produce fruits and nuts and grow forage crops for feeding dairy and beef cattle to meet California's shortage in milk and meat output. The remaining part of these Trinity waters will roll down the Sacramento River bed to the Delta area east of San Francisco Bay, where it will intermingle with the waters of the San Joaquin River flowing up from the southern end of the Central Valley.

PUMPS TAKE OVER: At this point the free ride will end and the second job begin. The Tracy pumping plant will lift the imported surplus 200 feet and pour it into the Delta-Mendota Canal paralleling the San Joaquin River for a 120-mile trip south on the west side of the Central Valley. Along the way it will irrigate farms formerly served by San Joaquin River waters which have been diverted to the valley's east side.

Now for the journey's climax—Trinity's third and final task in exile. In the Pacheco Pass, at Los Banos northwest of Fresno, the far-traveled waters will be boosted by a 200,000-horse-power pumping plant into the 1,000,000 acre-foot San Luis Reservoir, a $230,000,000 project authorized in legislation which President Eisenhower is expected to sign. This reservoir will irrigate a half-million acres of small farms along a southward-running, 104-mile canal. In addition, it will serve a number of small towns in the parched and treeless terrain north of the Tehachapi Mountains which are still truck-hauling their drinking water. Cost of the San Luis Reservoir project will be repaid in 50 years out of water purchases at $7.50 an acre-foot.

POWER FIGHT: California's public ownership forces are emphatic that the Central Valley's big flood-diversion project, no matter how inspiring in concept or magnificent in facilities, cannot succeed without cheap power that can be translated into low-cost pumping at both the Tracy pumping plant and at the new San Luis Reservoir.

Who is to build and operate the 288,000-kilowatt hydro-electric plant at Trinity Dam? It is around this question that the hottest battle in California politics is developing.

The huge Pacific Gas & Electric Co. wants to acquire the Trinity Dam power plant, but Central Valley dirt farmers and their state-wide allies insist that only the Reclamation Bureau can do the job as a part of the over-all Central Valley Project.

PG&E's bid would leave to the federal government the construction of the dams, tunnels, reservoirs, and canals at a cost of $225,000,000 and would authorize PG&E to build the power facilities at a cost of $56,700,000. PG&E would "purchase the falling water" from the government at a price which its spokesmen claim would net the government $165,000,000 more than it would receive during the 50-year amortization period if it sold the power itself. The company would pay $145,000,000 in federal, state, and local taxes during the 50-year period, they say.

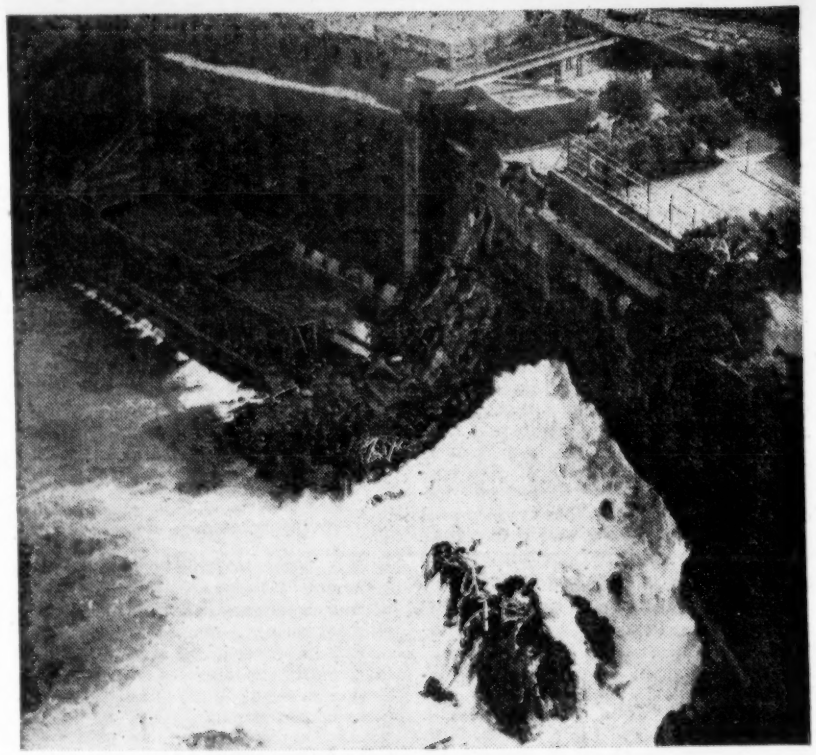
THE ANSWERS: The counter-arguments of public power forces are many and of far-reaching import and are getting increasingly wide circulation despite the enmity of the metropolitan press. It is pointed out that PG&E cannot furnish the cheap power required for irrigation pumping. With federal construction and operation of Trinity Dam, CVP's present rate of 4.6 mills per kilowatt hour would be charged for pumping as against a 20% higher rate by PG&E. Irrigation would be further aided by a subsidy of $66,000,00 a year from CVP's power revenue; no such subsidy, of course, would be available from PG&E.

Under federal operation, delivery of water would be assured in the Sacramento Valley at $2.75 an acre-foot, in the San Joaquin Valley at $3.50 an acre-foot, and in the service area of San Luis Reservoir at $7.50. PG&E's higher power charges would make irrigation in these areas infeasible for crop production.

As to the cost to power and light users, in the next 50 years PG&E's higher rates would take from consumers $86,000,000 more than they would pay if the federal government built the power facilities. And, at the end, the people would still not own the power plant.

THE PEOPLE CAN WIN: In view of the spread and increasing militancy of public ownership sentiment in California and throughout the West Coast the frustration of PG&E's designs on Trinity's power plant seems likely. The attitude of Central Valley's dirt-farmer irrigators and their city allies is expressed by Congressman Clair Engle (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to which the sell-out scheme has been referred: "Interior will build Trinity, lock, stock, and power houses, or it will not be built at all." Even California's two Republican Senators, Knowland and Kuchel, have opposed the PG&E program.

No matter who wins, the struggle for California's and the nation's hydro-electric energy and natural resources will go on. In essence, it is a conflict between two economies, one of exploitation and the other of service, which cannot mesh.



A LANDSLIDE AT A POWER STATION TURNED INTO A WINDFALL . . . *for the Niagara Mohawk Co. when a new law gave them a large share of the power from a public project.*

MOSES ENGINEERS N.Y. GIVE-AWAY

Congress ducks state law, orders Niagara power grab

THE POWER BARONS of upper New York State have been trying for seven years to tap Niagara, one of the nation's mightiest hydro-electric sources. They have had to contend with the N.Y. public Authorities Law which forbids power grabs: ". . . in the development of hydro-electric power . . . the project shall be considered primarily as for the benefit of the people of the state as a whole . . . sale to and use by industry shall be a secondary purpose."

The engineers of the power grab couldn't climb over or slip under the plain-talking law. They have therefore ignored it. Last week at least 50% of Niagara was earmarked for private industry and the great power soon to be harnessed on New York's frontier seemed unlikely to lower the electric bills of New Yorkers.

For years the fight over Niagara raged in Congress which, under terms of the 1950 treaty with Canada, has the final say on all Niagara projects. In 1953 the private power lobby pushed through the House a bill which would have turned Niagara over to five private power companies. The bill died in the Senate that year. In 1954 and 1956 the Senate passed bills for public development of Niagara, and both died in the House.

THE DEWEY TOUCH: Meanwhile the public power forces had back-tracked to a point where the then Gov. Thomas E. Dewey said that the then Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. was "attempting to crawl in bed with me." Dewey had long championed state control of Niagara which

was generally taken to mean state authority to give Niagara away. Dewey appointed Robert Moses as chairman of the State Power Authority who laid out the strategy which last week ended in victory.

In June, 1956, a rockslide destroyed the Schoellkopf Power Station of the Niagara Mohawk Power Co., the utility giant of the frontier. Suffering $10,000,000 in damages, the company dropped opposition to public development of Niagara power and instead demanded guaranteed priorities on the power to come out of such development.

Moses devised a formula whereby private companies, principally Niagara Mohawk, would get a little more than half the power. The municipally or cooperatively owned utilities, designated by the law as preferred customers, would divide up what was left. There would be no TVA-type utility that could serve New Yorkers in their homes and bring pressure on the private utilities to lower their rates. Last spring Moses accomplished the St. Lawrence give-away whereby the State would build $800,000,000 worth of power houses and Reynolds Metals, the Aluminum Corp. of America, General Motors and Niagara Mohawk would have priorities on most of the power at bargain rates.

WATER OVER THE DAM: On Aug. 1 the House by a vote of 313-75, passed a bill which had the Moses touch. It authorized the N.Y. State Power Authority to build a $600,000,000 power project at Niagara turning out 1,800,000 kilowatts. Half of the available power was earmarked for private industry, with a minimum guarantee of 445,000 kilowatts for Niagara Mohawk. The other half, 900,000 kilowatts, would be available for municipalities and cooperatives but 20% of the public's share was to be made available to Pennsylvania and Ohio.

On Aug. 12 the identical bill passed the Senate by a voice vote and awaited the President's signature. The Niagara project is to be built out of State Power Authority bonds. Moses had foreseen that, too. In 1954, through a group of investment houses headed by Dillon, Read & Co., he offered for sale $335,000,000 worth of bonds, advertising the Niagara deal in almost precisely the same terms used in the legislation passed last week.

The Authority expects to break ground on the project this fall and complete it within three years. Niagara will produce more power than all of TVA but for most New Yorkers it may be only so much water over the dam.

FBI bill

(Continued from Page 1)

A similar measure has been introduced in the House by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.).

CITE ABEL CASE: Shortly after the Jencks decision, which directs the government to make available to the defense in criminal prosecutions relevant reports to the FBI made by persons it calls as witnesses, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell charged that it had "resulted in a real crisis in law enforcement."

The sensationalized arrest of Rudolf Ivanovich Abel as a master-spy seemed made to order for the backers of the O'Mahoney-Keating bills. Although Asst. Atty. Gen. William F. Tompkins, head of the Justice Dept.'s Internal Security division in charge of the Abel case, specifically denied it, they charged that under the Jencks ruling the government might have to drop the case rather than divulge FBI reports of the witnesses it planned to call.

Said Rep. Keating: "I hope the Abel case will dramatically point up the importance of passing this bill at once." House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin warned: "If we go home without passing the Keating bill or a similar bill, we will have crippled the government in its prosecution of Abel . . . and will be responsible for the non-prosecution of many other similar cases."

RELUCTANT PIGEONS: Tompkins on Aug. 9 had said that, Jencks decision or no, "we will prosecute the case to the best of our ability." Next day he said: "Whatever happens we are going right ahead with this case." On Aug. 13 the N.Y. **Times** reported: "Sources close to the U.S. Attorney's office in Brooklyn reiterated yesterday their belief that the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Jencks case would be no impediment to the [Abel] trial." But the Abel case was still held up as the horrible example.

By Aug. 13 Hoover entered the picture

Herblock in Washington Post
"Hurry, Hurry, Hurry!"

with a letter to Rep. Martin in which he wrote: "Already we have had the revolting experience of witnessing persons charged with violations of Federal law turned loose when the government was faced with the dilemma of either disclosing contents of its investigative reports or abandoning a prosecution. Since the Jencks decision . . . we have faced one obstacle after another." He complained that would-be informers were becoming reluctant to inform.

CHASTE FILES: Next day Nixon himself lent a hand. He warned that Congress should not adjourn without a bill to restore the absolute chastity of Hoover's files. "There isn't anything communists would like more than to get confidential information of the FBI. . . . We're going to run the risk that people who are known to be criminals or subversives will have to be let off because the FBI won't be able to afford to turn over the information." Two Congressmen reported that he told them that the communists "might even sacrifice a subversive or an espionage agent in order to force the FBI to turn over information."

In the House, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was still refusing to be stampeded by such arguments and said he was in no hurry to push the Keating bill. He said that under his interpretation of the Jencks decision "the government doesn't have to drop any cases, it doesn't have to make wholesale revelation of FBI reports. . . . The defendant has a right to get the record of what is confronting him."

In the upper chamber Sen. Clark was also for cooling off hot heads. He said on Aug. 13: "I am extremely skeptical that we need any legislation at all although I am keeping an open mind on that point. I do feel strongly that it is the duty of the Senate not to act on important legislation with reckless haste. This bill was rushed through committee without public hearings. Representatives of organizations interested in civil liberties were not permitted to testify. We are told that an enormous emergency exists and there is no time to lose, but I doubt this very much."

WHAT THE COURT SAID: Actually, those crying "Havoc" against the Jencks decision seem not to have taken the trouble to read it (see box this page). The Court held that a defendant in a criminal prosecution has the right to examine the government's evidence against him. Only relevant documents are to be disclosed to him, and none from any source but persons offered as witnesses by the government. If the government is not willing, for any reason, to produce such material, it can drop the case. Such a decision, the Court held, should be the government's and not shifted to a trial judge.

The bills now under consideration would permit a trial judge to determine if material demanded was pertinent to the defense's case as against the Court's ruling that the defense was entitled to a first look. They would also withhold such material until after a government witness testified. If the government then refused to disclose the material, the judge could strike the testimony or declare a mistrial. The measures would also provide the FBI with an opportunity to so alter its practices as to escape compliance with the disclosure ruling altogether.

> THE SUPREME COURT ruling in the Jencks case, which Congressional hot-heads are now trying to cancel out, put specific limits on FBI material that could be demanded by the defense in a criminal prosecution. It reaffirmed an earlier Appeals Court ruling which said:
>
> "The demand was for production of specific documents and did not propose any broad or blind fishing expedition among documents possessed by the government on the chance that something impeaching might turn up. Nor was this a demand for statements taken from persons or informants not offered as witnesses."

ANTI-COURT BILLS: Meanwhile other attacks against recent Supreme Court rulings were going ahead. On Aug. 8 the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Mississippi's James O. Eastland, approved a bill introduced by Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) to bar the Court from reviewing any cases in the field of "subversion." Specifically, the Court would be denied appellate jurisdiction over all actions by Congressional investigating committees in internal security matters; over any Congressional contempt citation arising from such probes; over convictions in state courts on sedition charges; or over any actions against teachers or lawyers suspected of subversion.

On Aug. 15 the House Civil Service Committee voted to bring all government employes—in "sensitive" and "non-sensitive" jobs alike—under the government's loyalty-security program. The Supreme Court in a ruling last year held that the program applies only to persons in sensitive jobs.

Morros story

(Continued from Page 1)

refused to book Leon Trotsky into a Broadway movie house as an extra added attraction. Later Morros proved his value in another way. According to Lyons, he brought Jack Soble, currently awaiting sentence on an espionage count, into Sardi's. There Morros greeted Lyons familiarly and explained to Soble that Lyons was "a friend of the Trumans." Lyons indicated that he thought the Soviets were impressed with this "in" to the White House.

THE SPENDTHRIFT: It was impossible to confirm this theory of how the Soviet mind works. Morros' business career was better documented. He had produced a number of box-office successes for Paramount and for himself as an independent producer. He had traded in movies, and other commodities. Last week he said that in his counter-spy days he never

accepted money from the Soviets but spent $2,000,000 ($456.31 a day) of his own money and is now broke, though he is rather cheerful about the prospects. He told one columnist: "I have signed up all the Nobel Prize winners in Europe and I will film hour-long shows on their lives for television. Every network has made me fabulous offers."

After his decade of counter-espionage Morros gave the U.S. his view of the Soviet Union. He said he talked with Russians of all sorts. Many in the streets asked him questions like: "Why did you Americans assassinate Roosevelt?" In one trip to Moscow, he says, he saw 19 shows and only one that he didn't like. It was a puppet show featuring life-size images of Hollywood producers Joseph Schenck and Darryl Zanuck. He did not explain what impact these figures had on a Moscow audience but his suspicions were aroused by other aspects: "I realized that this show couldn't have been done without the full assistance of people who knew these men."

LIVING DANGEROUSLY: His conclusion was that the present Soviet regime had gone "beyond communism. They are for pan-Slavism on a scale more ambitious than Hitler's fanatical dreams of world conquest. The Russians are realists." Because they aim at "a Slav-dominated world," there is no hope in wooing Tito. He did not explain how Chinese communists might fit into pan-Slavism.

Last January Morros felt he was slipping when an East Berlin cameraman refused to have lunch with him. Later that month in Munich on his way to an appointment at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna he got a cablegram that said only: "Cinerama." It was a code word for danger and he thereupon took a plane to New York instead. But before that, Morros said, he had other narrow escapes. Once while dining with high officials in Moscow word was received that Morros was untrustworthy.

At that point his story took on a grimmer note. Morros said the tip-off had been sent by a "prominent American woman." He underscored his point at his press conference by saying: "Many of the agents working for Russia are important people, financially, and often held in high esteem. Many of the Soviet's most active workers in this country don't come from the rank and file nor the underprivileged."

BIGGER TARGETS: The Senate Internal Security subcommittee at once subpenaed Morros to appear on Aug. 21 and reveal the "prominent American woman."

Vie Nuove, Rome

The House Un-American Activities Committee, in a headline-snatching coup, beat the Senate Committee by holding a closed hearing in Morros' New York hotel. There Morros was said to have identified "the prominent American woman" as Martha Dodd Stern, daughter of President Roosevelt's ambassador to Germany, and in her own right an outspoken liberal writer. She is married to investment banker Alfred K. Stern. Until recently they lived in Mexico.

The Grand Jury which indicted Jack and Myra Soble subpenaed the Sterns as witnesses. Through their attorneys, former N.Y. Mayor William O'Dwyer and his brother Paul, the Sterns declined to come to New York without further specifications as to the questions they were to be asked. They were held in contempt and sentenced to a fine of $25,000 each. Attorney Paul O'Dwyer has appealed the sentence.

Last week U.S. officials said the Sterns had left Mexico on July 20 with their son Robert, bound for Zurich, Switzerland. They were later reported in Prague.

Ever since Jack and Myra Soble and Jacob Albam confessed to one count of an espionage indictment and turned state's evidence, the government's inquiry has seemed to indicate a bigger target. The Sterns with their New Deal associations and their espousal of liberal causes, seemed not unlikely. George and Jane Zlatosvski in Paris and apparently difficult to extradite, seemed small fry.

THE 'COLONEL': Rudolf Ivanovich Abel had a touch of Boris Morros in him. He, too, lent himself to an extravaganza, allegedly leaving behind him a roomful of hollowed-out pencils, cuff-links, suitable for secret notes, code books, memos of secret rendezvous and caches of Moscow money, estimated at from $50,000 to "not quite" $1,000,000. These he hid in public parks or warehouses in the FBI's headquarters building. He allegedly drove his chief aide Col. Reino (Vic) Hayhanen into the arms of the West by brushing him off with a $200 tip when he asked for money, and then left intact 252 items of incriminating evidence in his studio and moved to a hotel.

The overt act charged to the mild-mannered colonel was that he "located" a site for a clandestine short-wave transmitter near Poughkeepsie to be used in wartime. Up to last week Abel neither confirmed or denied the Justice Dept.'s stories. He ate and slept well, chatted with U.S. officials and reporters, read from a book on philosophy, though his conviction could mean his death.

On Aug. 16 Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo said he would appoint defense counsel for Abel. He set the trial for Sept. 16 before Judge Mortimer W. Byers.

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REMEMBER to sign the MORTON SOBELL Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court. (See Guardian, 8/5.)
Send signature and contribution NOW to Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C. Deadline Aug. 28!!

Sobell campaign hits stride

A GOAL OF 10,000 SIGNATURES to an amicus curiae brief to be filed with the Supreme Court Sept. 4 in support of Morton Sobell's appeal for a new trial was in sight this week. The Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York City, already had in hand some 2,500 signatures with results of campaigns in major cities yet to be added. Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the petitioner who is serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz prison, charged with complicity with the Rosenbergs in an alleged atom-spy conspiracy, returned to New York last week after a nationwide tour and visits with her husband. She reported growing optimism everywhere that the Court would grant Sobell's petition. His conviction has never been reviewed by the high court.

CALENDAR

San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO GUARDIAN COMMITTEE invites you to an evening of fun—**DINNER** (starting at 5:30), **DANCING, ENTERTAINMENT—SUNDAY, SEPT. 8,** 1544 Fell, Street Level.

Detroit

Michigan Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 2033 Park Ave., Detroit, holds its **8th ANNUAL LABOR DAY PICNIC,** Monday, September 2nd, at **BEECHNUT GROVE** on Middlebelt Rd., bet. the expressway & Michigan Ave., Come from the Labor Day parade. Bring your fellow unionists. Admission $1. Children & unemployed free. Tickets & information at **MCPFB** office, phone WO 1-5196.

New York

WHO IS DALTON TRUMBO?
WHAT IS ROBERT RICH?
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CARNEGIE HALL

YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM continues its 6-week discussion series, **WORLD IN CRISIS.** The group is composed of young people who represent different socialist views on the questions facing the world today. **TUESDAY, AUG. 27,** 8:15 P.M.—**"THE HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY"** with Tim Wohlforth, American Forum for Socialist Elucation. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (nr. 14 St.)

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Drawing by Fred Wright

"He's put in a claim for three times the usual wash-up time!"

Taxes and bangs

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND.

While taking part in a Ban the Bomb march through the streets of Exeter recently (about 30 miles from here), which had been organized by the Society of Friends, I remarked to a young man carrying a banner that I thought a refusal to pay income tax would be far more effective than marching about. He replied: "I can't do that. Under 'Pay as you earn,' my tax is deducted before my wages are paid."

This young man was working all the week to provide Harold Macmillan with money to drop H-bombs (only £200 million per big bang); but on his Saturday half holiday he inexpensively marched through the town to say he disapproved of what was being done with his tax. Obviously no government's going to worry about what daft people are thinking so long as they can go on collecting most of their wage packets. **Rhoda Clarke**

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—A group of friends

IN DETROIT

Labor Day picnic for Foreign Born

THE ANNUAL PICNIC of the Michigan Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born will be held on Labor Day, Sept. 2, at Beechnut Grove, on Middlebelt Rd., between the Expressway and Michigan Av., Detroit.

All the fixings of a good picnic will be on hand: delicious food, beer, other refreshments, dancing, music, sports, and things for the children. Admission is $1, children and unemployed free. All proceeds to fight the Walter-McCarran Act. Tickets and other information available at the MCPFB office, 2033 Park Av., phone WO 1-5196.

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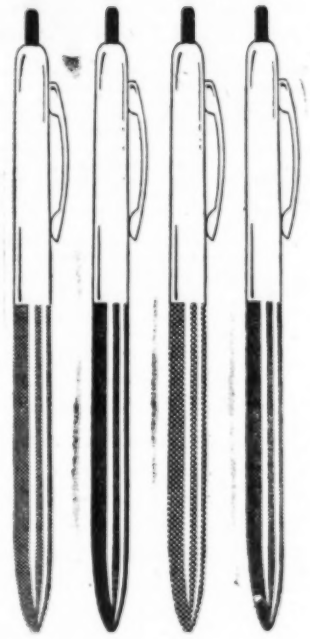

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the SPECTATOR

Sacco and Vanzetti

THIRTY YEARS AGO, shortly after midnight of Aug. 22, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed in the electric chair at Charlestown Prison in Boston, Mass. The crime with which they had been charged was robbery and murder. But the actual offense for which they were killed was of a different sort.

"Remember always these things," Vanzetti wrote in a letter shortly before his execution. "We are not criminals; they convicted us on a frame-up; . . . and if we will be executed after seven years, four months and seventeen days of unspeakable tortures and wrong, it is because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man."

"I know," Sacco told the judge in his last speech in court, "the sentence will be between two classes. . . . We fraternize the people, with the books, with the literature. You persecute the people, tyrannize and kill them. We try the education of people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality. . . . That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been of the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor."

Such was the reason that Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death.

THE PASSAGE OF THREE DECADES has not dulled the monstrousness of their execution or diminished the lesson of their martyrdom. For all the wrongs mankind has since endured, what human being with a conscience can fail to grieve at the memory of their ordeal? Who can recall without fresh anger the malice of the judge, who boasted to a friend: "Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards!"; the bias of the jury, whose foreman, commenting on the lack of incriminating evidence, declared, "Damn them, they ought to hang them anyway!"; the protracted mock-legal proceedings between their trial and execution; the fact that, before they were executed, one of the gang that staged the robbery of which they were falsely accused confessed to the crime?

Who can forget that noble, dedicated pair? Bartolomeo Vanzetti, migrant worker and fish peddler, self-taught student of world history, literature and philosophy, whose favorite authors included Gorky and Marx, Renan and Darwin, Dante and Tolstoi; of whom the eminent attorney, William Thompson, wrote two years after becoming counsel for the defense: ". . . I went into this case as a Harvard man, a man of old tradition, to help two poor aliens, who, I thought, had been unjustly treated. I have arrived at a humbler attitude. . . . The Harvard graduate, the man of old American tradition, is now quite ready to say that nowhere in his soul is there to be found the faith, the splendid gentility, which makes the man, Bartolomeo Vanzetti."

And Nicola Sacco, the youthful, skilled shoe-worker, described by his employer as "a man who is in his garden at four o'clock in the morning, and at the factory at seven o'clock, and in his garden again after supper until nine and ten at night, carrying water and raising vegetables beyond his needs which he would bring to me to give to the poor;" and by his comrade, Vanzetti, as "a lover of work . . . with a good and lovely wife, two beautiful children and a neat little home at the verge of a wood, near a brook. Sacco is a heart, a faith, a character . . . a man who gave all, who sarifice all for the cause of liberty and to his love for mankind . . ."

WHO CAN FORGET their excutioners? "Facts have been disclosed, and not denied by the prosecution," Harvard Law Prof. Felix Frankfurter wrote at the time in a famous study of the trial, "to show that the case against Sacco and Vanzetti was part of a collusive effort between the district attorney and agents of the Justice Department to rid the country of these Italians because of their Red activities."

"The momentum of the established order required the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti," said Robert Lincoln O'Brien, millionaire owner of the Boston **Herald**, in a privately published document on the case.

THE WORLD CRUSADE to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti included not only masses of people, but renowned writers and scientists, statesmen and philosophers, jurists and churchmen. The historic significance of that crusade was understood by Vanzetti at the time. "What has been done for us," he wrote, "by the people of the world, the laborers . . . and the greatest minds and hearts proves beyond any possible doubt that a new conception of justice is plowing its way into the soul of mankind; a justice that is centered on man as man. . . .They are doing for us what once could have been done only for saints and kings. That is real progress."

Nor was America immune to the world's progress. Here where the crime was done, where repression and red-baiting hysteria were at a peak, a host of men and women worked unfalteringly through the months and years to save Sacco and Vanzetti. As the day of the execution drew near, protest rallies and strikes took place throughout the land, and hundreds of armed police guarded the prison where the condemned men were confined.

In a statement written shortly before their execution, Sacco and Vanzetti declared: "Friends and Comrades, now that the tragedy of this trial is at an end, be all as of one heart. Only two of us will die. Our ideal, you our comrades, will live by the millions; we have won but not vanquished. Just treasure our suffering, our sorrow, our mistakes, our defeats, our passion for future battles and for the great emancipation."

—Albert E. Kahn

In the GUARDIAN's next issue, Mr. Kahn will begin a serialized review of The FBI Story, *a history by Don Whitehead.*